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sections, would sharpen the race feeling in the South, and in the end would accomplish little for the negro; even federal aid to education could hardly be so managed as to keep up the feeling of white responsibility from which alone proper education of the negro can be expected" (p. 348). Truly this is progress—from the New England language and attitude of force-bill days.

Professor Hart, in conclusion, frankly admits that while both races are doing fairly well, "race relations are not improving" (p. 389). He urges education and patience. The suggestion is safe, and eminently sane. Education let us have, by all means—for both black and white, and to the utmost limit of each individual capacity to receive it, regardless of race or color. And we may all with profit pray for patience. But as to the efficacy of even these remedies, there comes the insistent query, what of race relations and negro conditions elsewhere? What has education done, and what is it doing, to improve the relations between whites and negroes, even where their contact is on such a Liliputian scale as in Chicago, New York, Boston and Philadelphia? But still, let us have patience and let us educate—and leave the rest to Providence and time.

ALFRED HOLT STONE.

*The Promise of American Life.* BY HERBERT CROLY. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909. Pp. 468.)

The author regards a new nationalism as the promise of American life. In trying to tell what this is he has produced a singularly original and thoughtful work. Interesting in itself it is still more interesting as the mark of current tendencies of thought. The matter gives evidence that it owes little to knowledge of comparative politics but is the outcome of intelligent consideration of American politics. The quest for the promise of American life was apparently begun with traditional ideas, and the conclusions reached in favor of radical reform are the outcome of observation of the inadequacy of American institutions in their traditional form.

A series of chapters are devoted to an examination of the political ideas and methods of the early period of the republic. The author finds that there was very slight institutional expression of the democracy in the government, but there was a democratic situation because of fluid social and economic conditions. "The dominant note of the pioneer

period was an unformed national consistency reached by means of a natural community of feeling and a general similarity of occupation and well-being." In view of subsequent developments the author is unable to attribute democratic value to Jefferson's principle of minimum government, but finds it rather in Hamilton's principle of energy of administration. The author's analysis of the characteristics of the two statesmen is very striking, inasmuch as his judgment seems to stand in opposition to his sympathies. He likes Jefferson's democratic disposition, but yet he concludes that Hamilton and not Jefferson was the better artificer in framing institutions.

It is in such criticism that we may discern the author's own position. He is a constructive, national democrat. He views institutions as purely instrumental in their operation, and, ignoring traditional labels, he values them according to their democratic utility. In this way he reaches the conclusion that without greatly augmented administrative power and governmental activity, democracy is a sham under which the plutocrat and the oligarch will rule the country and exploit its resources for their class advantage.

Democratic interests are considered both as regards external and internal policy. The chapters on militarism and nationality reject as unsound the notion of an inherent conflict between imperial and democratic ideals. "Colonial expansion by modern national states is to be regarded, not as a cause of war, but as a safety-valve against war." A sensible national policy "commits the United States at least to the attempt to constitute in the two Americas a stable and peaceful international system." The author holds that since we will not allow European states to intervene in American states, we must make American states behave themselves so as not to offer just cause of intervention.

In dealing with problems of political reconstruction, it is contended that the organization of state authority "must be founded on a different relation between the executive and legislative branches and a wholly different conception of the function of a state legislative body." Executive authority should be concentrated in the office of the governor, who should fill administrative offices by appointment, and should also have "an express and effective control over legislation." He should have the power to introduce bills and put them to vote, and in case of rejection should have the right to appeal to the people. The author's analysis of the cause of political corruption is keen and penetrating. Bosses and machines exist "because of the prodigious amount of business entailed by the multiplicity of elective offices." "The simplest way to

dispense with the professional politician is to dispense with the service he performs. Reduce the number of elective officials." Reforms which merely alter the conditions under which power is gained possess no true remedial value. The system of direct primaries will fail to promote democratic control. "It may well be that this device will in the long run, merely emphasize the evil which it is intended to abate. It will tend to perpetuate the power of the professional politician by making his services still more necessary."

But whatever improvement may be made in state authority, the author does not think it can become the main agency of democratic government. "The control of the central government over commerce and the corporations should consequently be substituted for the control of the states rather than added thereto." Income and inheritance taxation should be exclusively a national function, but a certain proportion of the net receipts could be distributed among the states." The author argues that the curtailment of state function would invigorate it within the field left to it, although about the only sources of revenue that would be left to the state would be "the real estate tax and saloon licenses."

A sketch of the argument can not do justice to its sweep and cogency. Although in some respects the work leaves the impression that its philosophy has not been fully extracted, it is characterized by perception of political reality and practical knowledge of conditions. From the traditional American standpoint its views will appear extremely radical, not to say revolutionary, but a Swiss or an Australian or a New Zealand voter would hardly find them novel or at all startling. Herein lies the chief significance of the work. It is an indication that the democratic spirit in this country is beginning to work out of its old eddy to join the main current now flowing strong throughout the modern world.

HENRY JONES FORD.

*The Transitional Period, 1788-1789, in the Government of the United States.* By FRANK FLETCHER STEPHENS. (University of Missouri Studies, Vol. II, No. 4; 1909. Pp. viii, 126.)

The years 1788-1789, which Dr. Stephens has well termed the "Transitional Period," never have been adequately treated hitherto in standard historical and political works. These latter are occupied mainly with the story of the adoption of the Constitution by the several states